THE PROTESTANT

FEBRUARY, 1949 Edited by Kenneth Leslie

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"You can call Communism a religion if you like,
the religion of serving the people."
—Mao-Tse-tung
Quoted by Anna Louise Strong

THE PROTESTANT

FEBRUARY, 1949

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FATHER CLARENCE DUFFY is a California-born Irish-raised Roman Catholic priest who has fought all his life against racialism and anti-Semitism.
ERIC EISNER is lecturing before church groups on his recent trip to Europe.

The article "Can Poles Forgive The Nazis?" by Seweryna Szmaglewska, printed in our June-July, 1948 issue was translated by Miss Wanda Wendt.

AMERICA AT THE CROSSROADS

And Other Editorials by KENNETH LESLIE

Wherever throughout the world today men strive for freedom they confront American arms, American generals, American intrigue. And the American people, including organized labor, cannot now evade responsibility for this global crime by blaming their government any more than the Germans could avoid responsibility for the crimes of the Nazis by blaming Hitler. For exactly as the German people yielded to terror and pride and elected Hitler so the American people have yielded to terror and pride and have re-elected armament prosperity, economic imperialism and incitement to war. They have far less excuse than the Germans. For they have the example of the Germans. Truman and his electors, the American people, are treading the Hitler path.

It has been in the American tradition to buy domestic reform at the price of world reaction: A Wagner Act and a T.V.A. were a quid pro quo for the Betrayal of Spain, the very first great appeasement of world fascism. Roosevelt did not correctly describe the Betrayal of Spain when he called it "a mistake." It was payment in Spanish blood for the American Catholic vote. Truman is operating in the same tradition and plays hard for Vatican approval and the Catholic vote. But whereas Roosevelt at least got something for the people out of his deals, when he died reaction raised its price. The price of domestic reform is so high now in terms of world reaction that Truman can't buy a stitch of it to cover the indecency shamefully revealed in his world-bullying inaugural. For interfaith cartel fascism is moving, bag and baggage, into America. And the shame of the liberals and of the churches and of labor is abysmal.

To talk of the election as a victory of the people was cruelly cynical. What a perfect front is this champion of liberty, this kindly Missourian people's choice, labor's defender, for the war on world socialism. Reaction already had the support of the interfaith cartel, the newspapers, the radio, the films, the hierarchy of labor. And now the mandate of the people! This is the culmination of a disease; the American people are more paralyzed by the grip of imperial compulsions today than were the pre-Hitler German people who mustered a bigger peace vote!

The last word has not been said. We would not write so sharply were there not an underlying health in our people waiting for certain events to release it. The chief of these events, the victory of the Chinese people, has happened. Its significance has not yet filtered through to enlighten the dark mind of America. When it does our people will suddenly rediscover Wallace, who sacrificed political expediency to prophetic statesmanship and was brushed off by the cartel-bemused masses and the parasitic labor unions. Losing the present he took a strong lien on the future. The day will come when the people, taught by stern events, will clamor for his courageous practical leadership. His stature takes on world dimensions. He scours and brightens the word so tarnished by others: "American."

JUNG'S UNCLEAN HANDS

Some time ago we published a series of three articles on C. G. Jung by Albert Parelhoff who showed that Jung was a good Nazi, serving Hitler by editing one of his propaganda organs. Mr. Parelhoff proved his point up to the hilt. Ranking chiefs of American psychiatry have admitted this privately.

Mr. Parelhoff has apparently put the whole field of psychiatry on the defensive. It is not hard to see why, for he posed embarrassing questions. Why was psychiatry caught unprepared by the rise of fascism? Why during that rise did psychiatry have no word to explain it and to cure it?

The discreet silence with which they greeted Mr. Parelhoff's articles was only equalled by that with which they greeted the social phenomenon itself.

Men who have persuaded themselves that they are supermen, whether because they are millionaires or for any other reason, are insane and although to confine them may put a strain on the sanity of their keepers nevertheless they must be restrained, even if there be 80 million of them.

The insanity may be based on ecclesiastical or national or racial conceitedness; it may be the messianism of something called "science." It may be the atom-bomb madness of Truman's America which is installing the Nazi industrialists and Christian Fascism in Western Germany in preparation for such a war as Hitler could never imagine in his wildest fantasies. Yes, we are quite mad. And our psychotherapists won't help us. Why?

Jung has published a series of "Essays on Contemporary Events" with which he attempts to wash his hands. But the blood will not out. The evidence is all against him, as those who have read Parelhoff will readily enough admit. If Jung had waited a little he need not have bothered to write the book. It won't be long before we shall be moving down one or the other of two opposite roads: towards fascism in which case Jung can come right over and take a leading part—embroidering myths for the American Millenium; or towards democracy in which case his apologies will impress no one. The fact is psychiatry in capitalist countries if it is to pay its practitioners must try to adapt to capitalism minds which appear ill from the capitalist point of view but which actually have proved their health by resisting its distortions. When capitalism freezes into fascism what can the doctor do except go along? As its distortions grow our doctors are forced to rationalize and justify those distortions. Jung did it for the Nazis with his Wotan balderdash.

ATOM-BOMB RECOIL AND THE TWELVE

The atom bomb is a fascist weapon. A sculpin wouldn't use it. We used it in Japan to keep Russia out of the Japanese peace settlement so that Japan could become, as she now is becoming, one of our new allies in our grab for world power. That is one of the recoils of "Hiroshima," the deed for which Harry Truman will be remembered in history. Present events in China are another recoil.

We heard a bunch of junior leaguers the other day petulantly damning Russia, "Why don't we just drop the bomb on them?" Well, it isn't quite that simple, girls! There's the recoil. Perhaps greater and more gruesome revolutions. Perhaps some nice epidemic. Perhaps even some less effective (compared to ours) but still inconveniencing bomb of their own rude construction. That, I am afraid, is the only reason why we don't drop the bomb. We are not yet gone completely berserk.

It is told of a Western bravado that he quailed when he looked into the eye of a certain sheriff because, although he knew he could kill the sheriff, he also knew he would more than likely get himself killed in the process. Today we are the bravado. We have the "drop" (450 bases and atom-pile plus sea and air arma-

(continued on page 15)

THE CHURCH-STATE ISSUE IN SPAIN

By THE REV. FATHER CLARENCE DUFFY

I was a student in the Irish College, Salamanca, Spain during the years 1915-1921.

Coming from Ireland where I had been raised, and where the practices of Catholicism were second nature to its Catholic people, I was surprised and even shocked at the contrast in Spain, a reputedly intensely Catholic country.

I soon discovered that large masses of the Spanish people, particularly the very poor and the working class, were lost to the Church. They were not only lost to it but inimical towards its ministers and especially towards the higher clergy and the hierarchy. Anti-clericalism was widespread in Spain where Catholicism was the national religion supported by the State and where a vicious political and economic system cried to high heaven for change.

The Bishops, who were nominees of the secular power, were looked upon by the deprived and dispossessed people of Spain as allies of the class who despoiled them or obstructed them in their legitimate aspirations and in the free exercise of their natural, God-given rights. The priests, who were paid a slavish and enslaving pittance by the State, were treated as fawning upholders and supporters of the upper and ruling class and of the false so-called property rights associated with that class in Spain and in other parts of the world.

Spain in those days was in a continual state of turmoil and unrest. Most of it was traceable to the fact that the people as a whole were unable to realize their aspirations because, in large measure, of the support and approval tacitly, if not expressly, given by ecclesiastical authorities, fearful of their own future, and security, to the unjust, un-Christian, as well as un-democratic actions, attitudes and modes of the wielders of the secular power which for its own base interests had enslaved the Church. Spain was paying the terrible price of that wrongful and definitely un-Christian enslavement unfortunately accepted by Spanish ecclesiastics.

Many people in Spain expected a revolution in the fall of 1918 immediately after World War I. It was averted at the last moment by the settlement of a general strike which threatened to precipitate it. The general feeling, however, was that it was merely postponed.

I left Spain in the summer of 1921. Shortly afterwards General Primo de Rivera was appointed, or approved, as a dictator by the king, Alfonso XIII. I returned to Spain in the late spring of 1930 and spent about a month there. I talked with Spaniards in various walks of life and in different parts of the country. I gathered from them that the end was not far off, and that it might be bloody if peaceful legitimate means were not successful in removing the Monarchy and establishing a Republic.

Anti-clericalism, even to the point of hatred of Bishops and priests, had increased and was more intense and vocal than formerly. The clergy were lumped with the "canalla" that my Spanish informants blamed for all their woes and for whom they foretold a terrible vengeance when the day of reckoning came. My informants were, in some cases, middle-class city dwellers who owned their own small businesses; in other cases they were industrial workers, waiters and porters. They were bitter not against the Church and its teachings which many of them knew and respected but against the men among the clergy, high and low, secular and regular, who because of self-interest, fear or cowardice ignored or were false to those teachings. They admitted that there were honorable exceptions in the

ranks of the clergy but bemoaned the fact that even these exceptions were too scared to make their voices heard effectively.

In April, 1931, less than a year after my visit to Spain, the Monarchy fell. In the municipal elections held in that month the capitals of Spain's fifty provinces, with the single exception of Cadiz, voted overwhelmingly for Republican candidates. Alfonso XIII, on the advice of his cabinet, accepted the ultimatum of the Republican leaders and left Madrid after suspending the exercise of royal power pending the parliamentary or national elections which were to be held in June.

The June elections resulted in a landslide in favor of the Republican parties, Right Wing Republicans, Left Wing Republicans, and Socialists. Not a single Communist was elected. About fifty deputies were Rightist anti-Republicans but only one of these proclaimed himself openly as a Monarchist.

Some of these Republicans were sincere, practising Catholics who deplored the abuses resultant from the Church-State set-up in Spain and who intended to rectify these abuses in a constitutional manner for the best interests and welfare of both Church and State. Others were extreme, bitter anti-clericals who hated not merely the abuses associated with the Church-State system in Spain, but who were intent upon depriving the Church of its rights in the spiritual field after the much needed separation had been brought about. The latter were in the majority in the Spanish Cortes.

Niceto Alcala Zamora, a practising Catholic lawyer and landowner, was elected the first President and first Premier of the Republic but the dominant figure in the Cortes, or Spanish Parliament, was the bitter anti-clerical, Manuel Azana under whose direction the Cortes proceeded at once to separate the Church and the State.

In the process of separation the extreme anti-clericals headed by Azana himself succeeded in enacting legislation which Catholics believed to be of a penalizing, persecuting nature. Premier Zamora resigned the premiership in protest but later agreed to continue in office as first President of the Republic in the hope that the anti-clerical nature of the legislation might be altered. Eventually the anti-clericals led by the bitter Azana overreached themselves. In the elections of 1933 the Spanish people, or at least a majority of them, many of whom had voted for parties of the left in 1931, showed their disapproval of Azana and his followers. The Left Wing Republican parties were almost wiped out, the Socialists lost more than half their seats, and the parties of the Right increased their strength from 42 to 207 deputies.

The moderate or Right Wing Republicans, who did not fare so badly as the Republicans of the left, took the position of a Center party in the new Cortes which was eventually dominated or controlled by Rightist groups now professing, outwardly at least, loyalty to the Republic and all united under the leadership of Jose Maria Gil Robles head of the Confederacion Espanola de Derechos Autonomos, known as the C.E.D.A., which professed to be inspired by the teachings of the Catholic Church in political, social and economic matters.

The C.E.D.A. was presented by circumstances or by fate, perhaps by Divine Providence, with a unique opportunity in the history of nations. It was given the chance to give effect to Christian teachings and emanations therefrom which would or could have resulted in peace for Spain and perhaps for the world.

Instead of grasping the opportunity and giving effect to those teachings which are contained, in theory at least, in the Encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and

Pius XI ("Christian Democracy," "Rerum Novarum," "Quadragesimo Anno.") the C.E.D.A. proceeded to mitigate or undo even the good and necessary reforms enacted under the Azana regime. It could have improved on those reforms and cited Christian teachings in defense of such improvement. It could, following those teachings, have been more radical even than Azana while being at the same time more just, more tolerant and more freedom loving than he.

As a result of the repealing legislation and the compromising pussyfooting indulged in by the C.E.D.A. and also of the savage, ruthless manner in which it, a professedly Catholic and, therefore, Christian party, suppressed a revolt in the Asturias, it was defeated in the elections of 1936 when a Popular Front coalition of all leftist Spanish parties united to oust it from power.

The C.E.D.A. was responsible for its own defeat. It rejected, if indeed it had ever intended to grasp a magnificent opportunity to secure freedom and justice, true Christian Democracy, for the Spanish people. (To be continued.)

* * * * * * * *

EFSTRATIA NIKOLAIDU

(Executed in Salonika, Dec. 1948)

It happened in December when winds, like police,
drove through the trembling cities of Greece.

Despite strict orders for all flames to die,
somewhere one still lit up the sky.

Till it were tracked down and choked—having sinned—
there'd be no respite for a Greek wind....

It happened in December. She was fifteen years old.
New breasts sampled by the lecherous cold,

measured by the rifles of Salonika jail—
was it fear or hunger that turned her pale?

Fear...or hunger...? She sang to the guns:
"Fire! Of your bullets I will bear sons."

Girl, can a poet reach you where you are?
I have two daughters, each bright as a star.

If one of my stars needed a name
I'd give her yours, girl of flame.

More than my own life do I love these two—
yet I would have them blaze like you.

Aaron Kramer

(Reprinted from The Sunday Worker, January 9, 1949.)

HIERARCHY OVER WASHINGTON

By THOMAS BLEDSOE

(Continued from January issue)

With the background of this brief study of the Inquisition we now come to the present and see how Rome and her collaborators are conspiring to set us back into a modern version of the Middle Ages which is ever the dream haunting the Vatican, its emissaries and fellow-travellers.

In an Analysis of Executive Order 9835 ("The Constitutional Right to Advocate Political, Social and Economic Change—An Essential of American Democracy: An Analysis of proposed Federal Legislation and Executive Order 9835, by the National Lawyers Guild, Washington, D.C.") also known as the President's Loyalty Order—the National Lawyers Guild states: "...the Executive Order of the President is offensive to our constitution in many respects. It "(1) Constitutes an unwarranted intrusion of the executive into the sphere reserved for the legislative branch; (2) Denies the constitutional safeguards of a fair hearing; (3) Sanctions the unconstitutional doctrine of guilt by association; (4) Sets up the Attorney General as a high priest of political orthodoxy; (5) Violates the constitutional doctrine that standards for punishment be precise and definite."

After Hitler came to power, "there were," as Hon. Abraham L. Pomerantz has pointed out, ("Dissent Becomes Disloyalty," an editorial article, "The Protestant," November-December, 1947.) "still a lot of protestants (with a small 'p') and dissenters whose only crime was that they were critics of the regime." To silence them, the Nazis promulgated a Loyalty Act which "provided loss of job and penalties for anyone found to have 'violated their duty of loyalty to the Reich and the German people' (Just substitute the words United States for Reich and you have our own loyalty act)."

From his first hand knowledge of Nazi documents, Pomerantz speaks with authority when comparing Truman's Loyalty Order with Hitler's. But Truman's Loyalty Order is, as we shall see, comparable to the papal bulls relating to and procedures growing out of the Inquisition, to which there was much that was peculiar.

The great Inquisitor, Bernard Gui, stated in his "Practica," a guide to the Inquisition, that: "The accused are not to be condemned unless they confess or are convicted by witnesses, though not according to the ordinary laws, as in other crimes, but according to the private laws or privileges conceded to the inquisitors by the Holy See, for there is much that is peculiar to the Inquisition."

The President, in issuing an order which intrudes the executive into the legislative branch of government and which denies the constitutional safeguards for a fair hearing, is comparable to Popes Gregory IX and Innocent IV. They, in issuing their bulls to bishops and rulers authorizing the Inquisition, set the pattern for breaking down safeguards for the accused established by canon and civil law and for invading the jurisdiction of the courts.

Truman's Order envisages a loyalty investigation based on the inquisitorial process of approximately 2,500,000 federal employees and all applicants for federal employment. The head of each department or agency shall be responsible for the removal of disloyal employees. They and their representatives become in effect inquisitors.

Another result of the Order will be the possible establishment, for the first

time in the nation on an official large scale basis, of a political police. In providing that names of all employees be submitted to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Executive Order parallels the papal bull entrusting the Inquisition to the Mendicant Orders. It will be recalled that in committing the Inquisition to the Mendicant Orders, the popes had in mind their expertness in extorting confessions of guilt and their popularity with the people. The reputation of the FBI as expert in the tracing of common criminals and the emphasis upon its personnel as gentlemanly college graduates is comparable to the papal consideration. The establishment of a "central master index covering all persons on whom loyalty investigations have been made by any department or agency since Sept. 1, 1939," also has precedent in the index of heretics elaborately developed by the Inquisition.

The basis for removal of employees prescribed by the Executive Order is that "reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal to the Government of the United States." Four of the standards listed in the Order constitute, as the National Lawyers Guild makes clear in its Analysis, crimes or grounds for dismissal from government service already covered by existing laws. Of the fifth standard, the Analysis states in part, "its vagueness and indefiniteness are such as to render impossible the determination of the area or limits of its application." The sixth standard, "gives rise to the clear danger that the order invites an inquisition into political opinions." This obviously parallels the action of the Council of Narbonne which wound up its account of the various indications of evidence of heresy by saying that it was sufficient if the accused could be shown to have had faith in heretics or considered them to be "good men." So in the Loyalty Order the way is opened for invasion and control of the internal forum of conscience. Later on we shall see this in operation during actual hearings before Truman's new inquisitorial tribunals.

As for these hearings, the Order provides that an accused employee, "shall be informed...of the nature of the charges against him in sufficient detail, so that he will be enabled to prepare his defense" and requires that "the charges shall be stated specifically and completely." This is nullified however by the further provision that such charges need be stated only as "specifically and completely as, in the discretion of the employing department or agency security considerations permit." This opens the door to the practice established by the original Inquisition of withholding from accused heretics and their associates the evidence collected in secret against them.

To make the parallel complete, the President's Order provides that the investigative agency may refuse to disclose the names of confidential informants if "it is essential to the protection of the informants or to the investigation of other cases that the identity of the informants not be revealed." The Loyalty Order, as the original Inquisition, protects damaging information against being discredited by cross-examination or direct rebuttal by denying the accused his right to confront witnesses.

Such provisions clearly by-pass for loyalty hearings the "rudimentary requirements of fair play" (Morgan v. U.S. 304 U.S. 1,15.) and the intention of the authors of the Constitution "to safeguard," in the words of the Supreme Court, "the people of this country from punishment without trial by duly constituted courts." (U.S. v. Lovett, 328 U.S. 303.) But in this the Truman Loyalty Order again follows the precedent set by popes who arbitrarily subverted and broke down for the accused the safeguards provided by canon and secular laws.

Before going to the hearings themselves, let us consider one more principle of the Loyalty Order through which Truman, as the popes before him, invents a new crime. To prevent acquittal of those who could not be forced to confess heresy, it will be recalled that the popes and their councilors invented a new crime—suspicion of heresy. The President in his Order invents the crime of guilt by association--which is not sanctioned by our law. This he does in that section of his Order authorizing disqualification for employment because of: "Membership in, affiliation with, or sympathetic association with any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive..."

The Supreme Court has specifically rejected proof of disloyalty by association. (Schneiderman v. U.S. 320 U.S. 136.) In another case, (Bridges v. Wixon,326 U.S. 135.) Mr. Justice Murphy, concurring, said: "The doctrine of personal guilt is one of the most fundamental principles of our jurisprudence. It partakes of the very essence of the concept of freedom and due process of law....It prevents the persecution of the innocent for the beliefs and actions of others...."

Opposing the expulsion of Socialist members from the New York State Assembly, the late Charles Evans Hughes stated: "...it is of the essence of the institutions of liberty that it be recognized that guilt is personal and cannot be attributed to the holding of opinion or to mere intent in the absence of overt acts." (Memorial of the Special Committee Appointed by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, New York Legislative Documents, vol. 5, 143d Session, 1920.)

In spite of such decisions by the country's outstanding legal authorities, the Loyalty Order makes membership in certain organizations the basis of removal from employment. Furthermore, the Attorney General's designation of organizations as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive may be made without the requirement of a hearing. There is no requirement that the designation be made public. The designation may have retroactive effect so that membership in organizations even before they have been designated by the Attorney General may be the basis for removal from employment. This in effect is equivalent to punishing past conduct which was not criminal at the time. It violates the constitutional prohibition against ex post facto laws. The tests of organizations which may be designated as totalitarian, fascist, communist or subversive are not sufficiently definite to permit individuals to know in advance which organizations will be designated or which will not be.

The authority so conferred and the absence of adequate restraints thus permit the Attorney General "to become in effect a political censor and violate rights heretofore considered sacred." (Analysis, by the National Lawyers Guild.) This again is in complete violation of the following Supreme Court decision: "If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein." (Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624, 642.)

In short, Truman in setting up his Loyalty Inquisition, as the popes before him in setting up their Inquisition in the thirteenth century, by-passes, circumvents and subverts basic legal and constitutional principles. His Attorney General through powers conferred upon him by executive edict becomes the Inquisitor General of the United States of America in the twentieth century. (In the next issue Mr. Bledsoe will examine some of the Loyalty Board hearings themselves.)

A PRIEST, HIS CHURCH, AND COMMUNISM

By ERIC EISNER

"Socialism is the result of the evolution of Christianity in our twentieth century," Frantisek Novotny said. I had to listen very carefully to the words of one of the oldest Communists in Czechoslovakia. His Nazi jailers had knocked out all his teeth, broken his jaw five times and made him a physical wreck, but Novotny despite his 75 years, is still as alert as when he helped to organize the Communist party in 1905.

"Is that your own opinion, or is that the Party's opinion?"

"It's partly the opinion of Comrade Lenin, partly the opinion of every intellectual living today."

"Why is it partly an opinion of Lenin?" I asked.

"Because Lenin told me, when I spoke to him last in 1922 at Moscow, that Socialism in a certain way, or to be exact in most ways, is Christianity applied practically."

"Do you mean that Lenin believed in practising Roman Catholic dogma?"

"Exactly that, but not the dogma created by representatives of the Catholic Church and forced on the people of Catholic faith for the last 1000 years."

"Do you mean doctrines put down by Jesus himself?"

"Do you know what, young man?" Pan Novotny adjusted his glasses, "do you know that Jesus Christ, if he were alive today and lived in Brooklyn, New York, would be called before your Un-American Activities Committee? Do you know that according to his teachings and his philosophy he might even excommunicate the entire clergy and clean up the Vatican just as he cleaned up the Temple in Jerusalem?"

I took notes and was too absorbed in the meaning of Novotny's statement to ask the next question.

"I'm sure you won't be able to print that, young man....you might endanger your reputation, and might even be called anti-Catholic."

"Don't worry about my reputation, Pan Novotny," but I wasn't so convinced about the rest of his remark, "I'm here as a reporter to tell the American people what the Czech people think. I'm not making the statements, I'm just putting them down on paper."

"Well, I hope you're right and you know what you're talking about. But I'd like you to meet a member of the Czechoslovak People's Government. He's a priest who was recently suspended by the Vatican. He is one of the most realistic...note my word please, not radical, but REALISTIC fighters for the proper application of Socialism in our daily life."

"Do you mean Father Plojhar, the Minister of Health?"

"Yes. We were inmates of Buchenwald and we had ample time to discuss many problems at night when we got back from our working brigade."

"Are you a good friend of his?" was my question.

"A good friend? What do you mean by that?"

"Well Pan Novotny, I've tried to get an interview with Father Plojhar but like all other newspapermen, I've been told to mail in questions to which I would receive written answers. I haven't crossed the ocean to write the Minister of Health a letter. I could have done that from New York."

"You must understand that since his suspension the Minister has been swamped with requests for interviews. And he has always been misquoted, his sen-

timents garbled and used to the detriment of the Communist Doctrine. Words condemning Catholicism were put into his mouth, which he never could have said. So he has been forced to stop giving personal interviews."

"Why do you think Father Plojhar would accept me in audience?"

"Well I've known you twenty years. You know a little more about Czech life than reporters who stay here three days and then return to America to write a best seller titled 'A Peek Into the Communist Terror of Czechoslovakia.' You speak the language, so you can't blame an interpreter for inaccurate translations. I'll take a chance and ask Plojhar to give you an interview."

In a matter of minutes Novotny completed his phone call and had a promise for my reception by the Minister at the end of the week. I was to submit important questions three days before the interview.

It was a sunny morning when I reached the Palace that houses the Ministry for Health. It stands at the foot of the hill of Hradcany, the castle of the Czech Kings. The waiting room was filled with people: one of the servants took my coat, another my name. I was announced to the Chief of the Protocol. The moment the scheduled time for the interview arrived, the door to the Minister's ante-chamber opened and the Minister's secretary ushered me into the priest's working room.

The Minister's office must have been a ballroom once upon a time, but in spite of its overwhelming size I was surprised by the simple furnishings and by the priest himself. He looks even greater in stature than his 6 foot 4 inches.

His face is that of a peasant, highly colored, alert, with blue piercing eyes that searched me suspiciously. He walked erect and with grace as he came forward to offer his hand in welcome.

Before I reached for my pad to make notes, the Minister handed me the written answers to the questions submitted three days earlier with a notation that I had better than average knowledge of the Health Insurance Program. I reminded him that I knew Czechoslovakia from the day of its birth in October 1918; with that the ice was broken. The priest's eyes became friendly and he asked a question.

"Novotny told me that you lived here in Prague until 1939 so I assume you know the fundamentals of the Health Insurance Law?"

"I know about it, Minister Plojhar, and enjoyed some of its benefits too, even long before the last war."

"Did you know that the legislation was passed as far back as 1923? Why hasn't the United States a National Health Insurance Law? Is it because the American Medical Association claims that National Health Insurance is a Communist invention, or is it because the Republican Congress pigeon-holed the proposed Dingle Bill?"

"I think we will get a Health Insurance Law as soon as the next Congress gets down to work. We need it, especially our veterans."

"Do you think Wallace has a chance of being elected?"

"Not a chance, but he might get two million votes."

"That's what I thought...so it's going to be Dewey?"

"According to the polls it looks that way."

His face was very serious and made me hesitate asking sensitive questions concerning his standing with the Vatican. He noticed my hesitation and encouraged me by saying, "Well, let's get to your questions. You want to know what happened to my status as a priest since February 1948?"

"Exactly, Father. Do you want me to ask questions or would you rather tell the whole story?"

"I'll tell you the whole story and if I should forget anything you would like to know, feel free to interrupt me. As you know, I was a Senator in 1945, elected on the Catholic party ticket. Until February 1948 there were no objections from the Vatican, to my being a Senator in the Czechoslovak government. I was suspended from the church. I was suspended because I voiced an opinion to a church superior that a priest should take orders from the Vatican when religious and moral matters were involved, but not when political beliefs were the issue. I would have understood the suspension if my political beliefs had been detrimental to the doctrines of Catholicism. But I claim that factual life demands that every priest today work and fight for a practical application of Christianity, not simply for a theoretic doctrine preached week after week from the pulpit.

"If the Vatican was sincerely practising the teachings of Christ the world over, your Mister Taylor wouldn't be able to influence the policy of the Vatican as he does, and Cardinal Spellman would not organize a new empire for the Vatican Dynasty in the United States.

"Nenni, the Italian statesman visited Prague recently: he told me that the Church in Italy is afraid it will be proven that cooperation between Catholicism and the socialistic doctrines of Communism is possible. What would be wrong with that?"

"Isn't it contrary to the doctrines of Communism to be a good Communist and a good Catholic at the same time?"

Plojhar's face was very indignant. "You don't believe what you just asked me, do you?"

"I'm just using my knowledge of the Marxian doctrine, that's all Father."

"For your information, the Czechoslovak government wants to prove that in a socialistic state there is freedom of religion and cooperation in all political problems. Our new government has not once hindered the freedom of religion, be it Catholic, Protestant, or Hebrew. Anti-Semitism was outlawed the moment the new constitution of the Peoples' Democracy became law. How many Western powers have such a law in their constitutions?"

I tried to explain to the priest what we were doing with the Fair Employment Practice Law, but he seemed to know all about it.

His secretary had already entered the room twice, waving papers to be signed. So far, the priest had ignored him, too much involved in his explanation. I still had some personal questions to ask and he was well on his way to the Negro problem, so I started immediately with my attack of questions.

"Do you think you will be excommunicated, Minister Plojhar?"

"I will answer that question later, but I want to finish explaining the policy of the Czechoslovak government as far as churches and priests are concerned. As I told you, we are out to prove that church and government can live in peace....but we will fight any individual or religious group that tries to take selfish advantage of the State's desire. For instance let's compare a priest with an officer. When an officer works against the interest of his army he is punished as a traitor. I consider a priest who fights the laws, rules and doctrines of his government a traitor to his country who deserves the most severe punishment.

"And now to your question. No, I have not been excommunicated because there is no basis for such drastic punishment yet. However, I wouldn't be surprised if such a reason still might be 'created'."

"What is your opinion about Dr. Tiso?"

"I expected that question. After the Munich Crisis, Dr. Tiso became Presi-

dent of a traitorous Slovak government that was created with the officially publicized help of Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany. Dr. Tiso was never reprimanded by the Vatican because at that time the policy of the Vatican was such that the political orientation of a priest was his private affair. At that time it didn't make any difference to the Vatican that Dr. Tiso headed a government that delivered freedom loving Slovak citizens, anti-fascists of all faiths, to Nazi concentration camps. Up to the very day the death sentence was imposed on Dr. Tiso as a traitor to his country, the Vatican stood by him. Yet I was suspended by the Vatican because I became a member of a government with socialistic doctrines."

"Did you feel badly when you heard of your suspension?"

"In my church I am a priest, in the parliament I am the elected Minister of Health. To be precise, I consider myself a just priest because I want to put my sermons about brotherly love and Christianity into practice. And in that I am performing my duty as a servant of God. How can I tell my flock on Sunday that all men were created by one God almighty and therefore are equal, and at the same time close my eyes to the misery forced on the majority of the people in actual life because of the greed of a few legally protected egotists?"

The secretary interrupted. The priest looked at his watch and realized that he had given me too much of his time.

"Next time Novotny calls me—I'll tell him...well," and he reached smilingly into his desk to hand me two photographs of himself. "This one is a picture of me during a break for a smoke on a Saturday when I work with the labor brigade."

"Is it a must for everybody to work on a labor brigade?"

"It is an honor. It is the proven desire of every citizen of a Peoples' Democracy to pitch in whenever an opportunity is given. The labor brigades are an organized self-help to hurry up our two years plan to rebuild what the Nazis destroyed and to get back to normal as quickly as possible. We want to be one of the nations in Europe to work, prosper, and grow. We want to prove to the world that a Peoples' Democracy can take care of itself and that socialistic governments are here to stay.

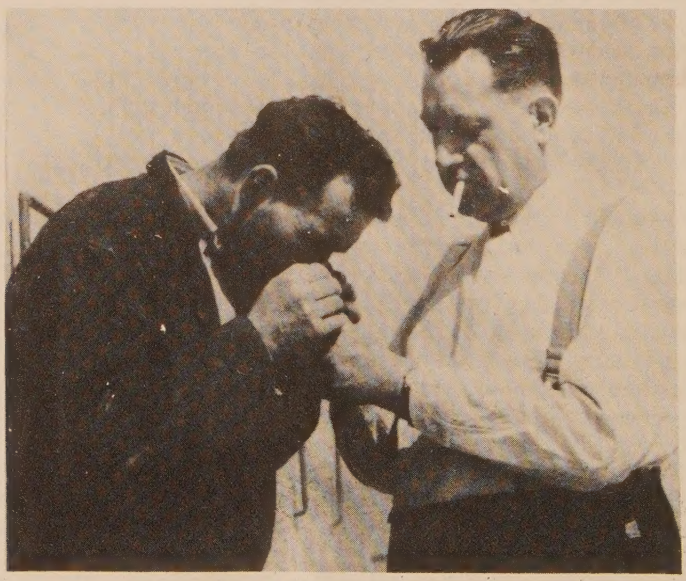

Photo by Fanda Holubovsky

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as) on the Soviet. And when Vishinsky looks us in the eye and accuses us of planning to shoot we know what he says is the truth, yet we still have sense enough to realize that though we could likely destroy the Soviet Power we would also destroy ourselves in the process. When our visceral greed, infantile fear, and ridiculous pride have extinguished the last glimmer of that sense, then in very deed we shall be doomed. For then fear will have become hysteria and our whole nation will have become infected with the disease now raging through its top levels.

This is exactly what is happening in the trial of the twelve leaders of the Communist Party in New York. Not only the cynicism of the trial itself but the indifference of the public shows how literally petrified we are. For the trial is an attack by the government on its own fundamental law. It is not moving towards fascism. It is arriving at fascism. The Communist Party could never have existed unless it had been founded and had operated under the American Constitution. Its own constitution expressly forbids violence in the strongest terms. It has not been charged with violence and is not now charged with it. The jury is admitted to have been chosen from the privileged class. Masses of police around the court give an atmosphere of terror. The whole affair is to be a slow-burning Reichstag fire, providing headline red-baiting "news" to prolong the period of armament-prosperity in which war may be launched. It will provide psychological cover for the crackdown on all pro-peace elements everywhere. This is what it is for. It seems clever to its authors. It is not. For there will be a recoil.

The authors of this legalized subversion are blind. If they should be sustained up to and through the Supreme Court, a final decision to outlaw the American Communist Party will have repercussions not only in the socialist half of the world but right here in America where it will be a sign for the racialists and anti-Semites to get back into active business. Sad days are ahead if the courts uphold this attack upon the constitution by a government sworn to uphold it.

WHICH WAY CHINESE MISSIONS?

Are American missions in China helping the people there to gain a more abundant life? Or are they serving Wall Street? Our missionary aid societies have a right to know.

China, for ages the sleeping lion of the Far East, is at last wide awake. She is awake in her peasants who refuse any longer to be exploited, to stand still before the shearer. They struggle to overthrow the master of the shears, to shatter the landlordism that has been holding them in bondage for thousands of years. They begin to build democracy. They are the real pillars of Chinese society. If we are not excited over this we should be, for our Christian missionaries had a great deal to do with this awakening. Yet missionaries change with the times.

Is the Christian dynamic still operative? If it were it would cheer the 400 million land-slaves who have straightened their backs and decided to take for themselves their own manhood and womanhood, the whole heritage of man, his culture, his leisure, the zestful adventure of abundant living, to gain these things by their own toil, their own wounds and death, their own painful study.

To a person with any perspective this should be thrilling to say the least. To the Christian missionary it should be enthralling. Is it? I am afraid not. At least not on policy-making levels. Congressman Judd, ex-missionary, clamors for American aid to kill these very peasants—in the name of Christ.

Frank Price, another missionary, says in "China, Twilight or Dawn," "We cannot, we must not withdraw from China....We should not leave China to Russia or any other power...." Henry P. Van Dusen says the American frontier is between China and USSR. The missionary boards are silent and their silence gives consent to evil. The Van Dusens violate the Christian principle of treating persons as ends in themselves, sacrificing them to the uses of American strategy. Yet he loves to refer to the high percentage of Christians in China's "Who's Who." But Dr. T. C. Chao, well-known Dean of Yenching School of Religion, says: "Certain of these represent only corruption, avarice, and shame, forces that prevent goodwill towards the Christian Church...."

Stories of atrocities to Christians have been made up out of whole cloth. It is true that mild restraint was put upon so-called Christians who collaborated with the Japanese, lived on the toil of the peasant-tenants as landowners, and sabotaged reform programs. Some things they did under the banner of Christ might cause even Van Dusen to blush.

Since the Sino-Japanese war there has been a crescendo of silence concerning the numerous instances of Chinese Communists inviting the Christian Church to work in their areas, and of the friendly relations between the churches and Communist authorities. This silence can only be explained on the ground that those officially responsible for Church missions in China wish to turn these missions into the ecclesiastical arm of American expansionism.

The identification of Christian Missions in China with American policy will betray all the hopes and dreams of our early missionaries, will uproot the foundations they sacrificed their lives to lay down, and will destroy the whole missionary enterprise. Unless the Communist Christians send missions here!

WE CAN'T SHRINK MUCH MORE

Prof. Scott Nearing sends a generous contribution saying, "There is so little in this field that is fresh and vigorous and the need is so great that the publication should go on if at all possible." This from one of the truly great men of our time makes us still more determined to cheat the interfaith cartel hangman.

The editor and one assistant are kept busy making pages, printing, folding and stapling. There is little time for personal letters. Many braves have been prostrated by the first cold blast of the terror. Their load must be carried by those left standing. One said that every time he took action against fascism he found himself in suspicious company. So he would wait for proper auspices. He'll be waiting a long time.

Where do you stand? Or do you stand? We hoped for 200 responses. Up to now we have received 34 wonderful letters. Receipts $174. Let us hope for a better response in February.